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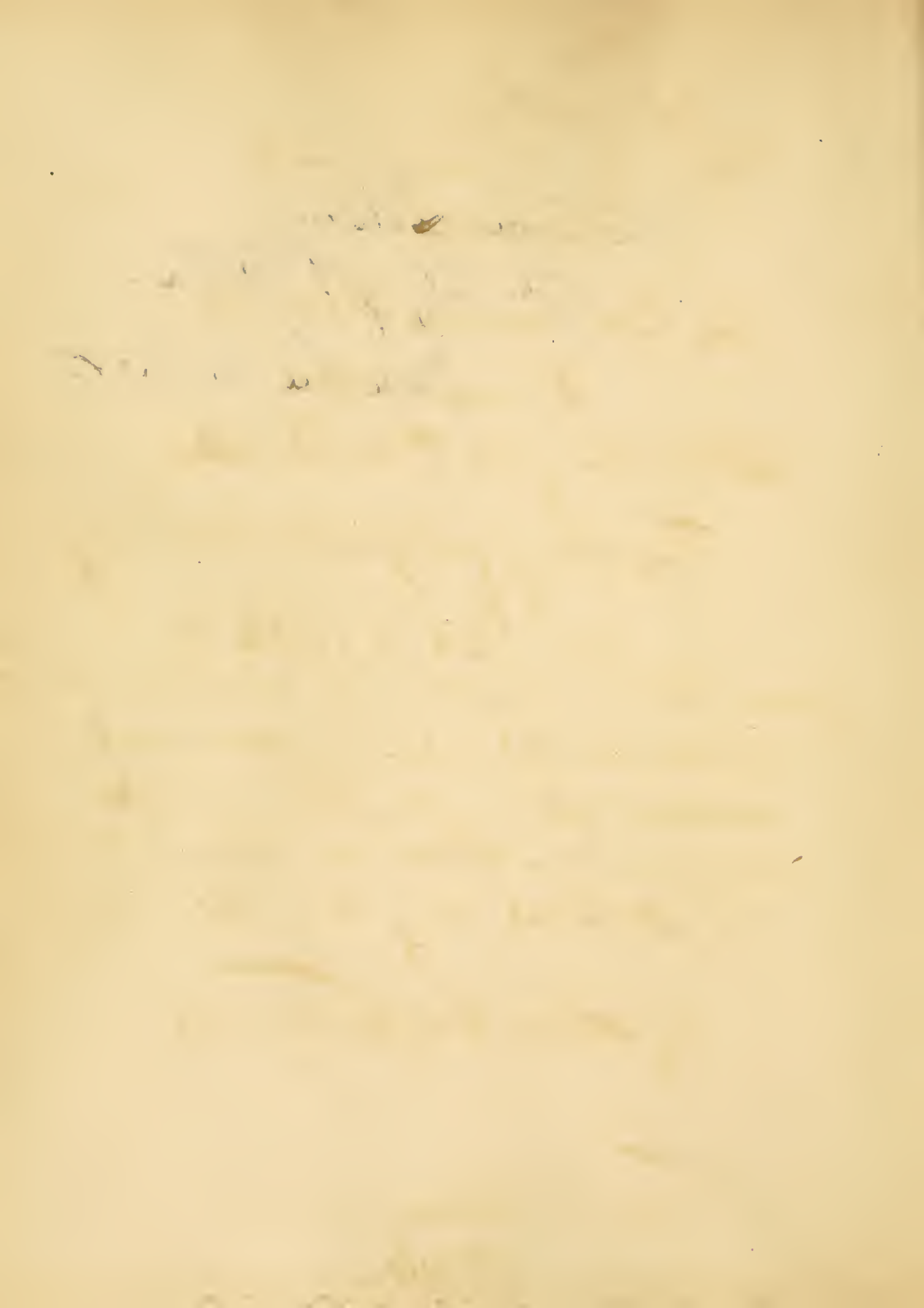
J. Wingate Morton -

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An  
Examination  
Into the accuracy of the  
Title page

2321.6

of the Rev. Alexander Young's  
Volume, entitled

"Chronicles of the First Planters of  
The Colony of Massachusetts Bay,

from 1623 to 1636," etc. 1846,  
showing that they were not "first collected from  
original records and contemporaneous  
manuscripts" by Mr. Young, and  
naming some of the authors, in whose pages  
the "Chronicles," may be found.

by John Wingate Thornton.

From the Boston Courier —  
1846 —

2755

YARRL CLUB  
ENT TO  
NOTES TO

1856

John Keigate Thornton

Mar. 4, 1856

YARRL CLUB  
ENT TO  
NOTES TO

Aug. 26. 1846. Boston Courier.

¶ For the accuracy of the statements in the following communication the writer (whose initials are affixed) is alone responsible. If it is of importance that the integrity of History should be maintained, an examination of the questions involved in the article is desirable, and will tend to establish it.

[For the Courier.]

The question has recently arisen, whether Endicott or Winthrop was the first Governor of Massachusetts, and the honor has been claimed for each with equal certainty.

The compiler of the "Chronicles of Massachusetts" [Note, p. 104] declares Winthrop to have been the *first* Governor, though the record, to which the note refers, seems to disprove it. The record recites that "the Court, proceeding to the election of a *new* Governor," chose Mr. John Wyntrop, on the 20th October, 1629, "for the government in New-England." The natural inquiry is, Who was the *old* Governor?

Prior to that date, Mr. Matthew Cradock was the Governor in London, and Endicott was the Governor in Massachusetts—both having been chosen at the organization of the Company, under the charter from Charles I., of March 4th, 1629, each acting simultaneously under the authority of the Company, and in the records both are called by their official title, "Governor."

Cradock resigned on the day that Winthrop was chosen; and Endicott continued in his office until relieved by Winthrop, on his arrival in New-England, June 12th, 1630, nearly two years after "Endicott was sent over Governor" by the original Company, and his arrival here, in September, 1628, [p. 13] and before Cradock or Winthrop were members of the Company.

The compiler [Note 3] says, "This was the *first* emigration under the authority of the Massachusetts Company"; but there is reason to doubt the *accuracy* of the statement, as Endicott, with his company, emigrated under the "deed" from the Council of Plymouth, of March 19th, 1628, and the "Company of the Massachusetts Bay" was not "willed and ordained" by Charles I. till about one year after, at the "humble suit and petition" of a few of the original grantees. [Colony Charter, Prince, 247-8.]

The records will show the time and character of Endicott's relation to the government. In "the Company's *first* general letter of instructions to *Endicott and his Council*," under date of April 17th, 1629, they wrote—"We have, in prosecution of that good opinion we have always had of you, *confirmed* you Governor of our plantation" [p. 144]; and on the 30th of the same month, "In prosecution of the power and authority given them by virtue of his Majesty's charter," the Company "*thought fit to settle and establish an absolute government*" in Massachusetts; and "having taken into due consideration the merit, worth, and good desert of Captain John Endicott and others lately gone over from hence, with purpose to reside and continue there, with *full consent and authority* of the Court, and by erection of hands, chose and elected the said Captain John Endicott to the place of present Governor in their said plantation" [p. 193, and Prince, 258]; and it was "Ordered that the said Governor, Mr. Endicott, and the Council, being chosen as aforesaid, and having taken their oaths respectively to their places, (the forms of which were sent over to be administered to them beyond the seas—p. 68) should have full power and authority, and they were thereby *authorized by power derived from his Majesty's letters patent*, to make, ordain and establish all manner of wholesome laws, statutes," &c. "for the government of their plantation." [p. 67.] On the 3d of June, 1629, the Company addressed a letter to "Captain John Endicott, Esq., Governor," [p. 191] and November 29, they record the receipt of a letter from him as *Governor* [p. 109]. On the 16th of October, they "*conceived fit that Capt. Endicott should continue the government there, unless just cause to the contrary*" be shown; and "after the matter was largely discussed, it was thought fit and natural that *the government of persons should be held there*, the government of trades and merchandises in" London—[p. 198; Hubbard, 104,



122, and a concise statement by Rev. J. B. Felt, in Massachusetts Register for 1846, pp. 36-7.]

Gov. Hutchinson mentions the "sending out Mr. Endicott, appointing him a council, giving him a commission, instructions," &c. as "*the first step*" under the charter [Hist. vol. 1, p. 13]; and though he is explicit that Endicott was appointed Governor, May 13, 1628, [Hist. p. 10] he is *let alone* in the positive note on page 104, and escapes from having his "errors corrected" with a charity that might have been graciously allowed to some other writers.

Thus, we find Endicott, elected *Governor* of the colony under the deed or patent from the Plymouth Council, *confirmed* in the office and re-elected by the Company, in their "first step," under the authority of Charles the First's charter, a duplicate of which, (now preserved in the Salem Athenæum) with the Company's seal, and the form of oaths for the Governor and Council, were sent over to him. We find him clothed with full powers for the "absolute" government of the colony, in frequent correspondence with the Company in London, as Governor, until he was superseded by Winthrop, in June, 1630, and the "government of trade and merchandise" had been changed in its form and placed in the hands of a *committee*, part of whom were in London, and part in Massachusetts.

Thus the records prove JOHN ENDICOTT to have been the *first Governor of Massachusetts*.

The "original painting" of Winthrop, by Van Dyke, is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, as the writer is informed by the Librarian of that institution; and *not* "in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts", [p. 105, note.]

Hutchinson, who is endorsed by Young, [p. 116] says that "We have no account of any dividend ever made, nor indeed of any trade ever carried on for the Company," but the following extracts from the General Court records, under date of September 3d, 1634, [p. 27,] afford strong presumptive evidence that there was: "It is ordered, that the *declaratory account* of John Winthrop, Esq., late Gov'r, now exhibited into court, shall be recorded."

"It is ord'd, that there shal be 'res written to theis gentle'n, here under mencond and signed by the Court of Assistants, viz: Mr. George Harwood, Mr. John Revell, Mr. Thos. Andrews, Mr. Rich'd Andrews, Mr. Francis Kirby, Mr. Francis Webb,



Mr. George Foxcroft, and Mr. Robert Keane, &c., to intreat them to make choise of a man amongst themselves to be treas'r for a yeare for this plantacon, as also to give them power to receive an account of Mr. Harwood, nowe Treasurer, as also to give said Mr. Harwood a full discharge." Harwood had been Treasurer some years previous to this date.

Hubbard affords additional evidence that the Company at London retained an interest in the colony at a still later date—"At Whitehall, April 14th, 1638, the Lords' Commissioners for foreign plantations, taking into consideration the want of a settled and orderly government in those parts, called to mind that they had formerly given order [June 7, 1635,] to Mr. Cradock, a member of the plantation, to cause the grant or letters patent for that plantation (alleged by him to be there remaining in the hands of Mr. Winthrop) to be sent over hither, and that notwithstanding the same, the said letters patent were not as yet brought over." Immediately after the declaration of June 7, 1635, a *quo warranto* was brought by the Attorney General against the officers of the corporation of the Massachusetts, whereof about fourteen appeared." [Hubbard p. 272.]

Cradock was convicted of the usurpation charged in the information; the thirteen others came in and pleaded that they had never usurped the liberty, &c., as charged. Probably Cradock alone, of the whole fourteen, defended the proceedings in the colony as rightful, under the charter, and so was convicted.

The Massachusetts averred that they "were never called to answer to the writ." (Hubbard, 268). And if the *whole* interest had been in Massachusetts at that time, the notice would have been given to Winthrop or his associates.

The omission, if not unwillingness to notice, with few and slight exceptions, the labors of Hubbard, Hutchinson, Prince, Hazard, Farmer, Felt, and the Fathers of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who by their zeal and diligence have cleared the field of the obscurity and difficulties which had gathered and tangled in the lapse of one and two centuries, and who truly "first collected from the original records and contemporaneous manuscripts," most of the matter contained in Mr. Young's volume, is *not* a gratifying feature in this valuable compilation.

With this view, it is agreeable to refer to their pages, and acknowledge our obligation to them, *giving the honor to whom it is due*, and for convenience, the

chapters of the "Chronicles" will be taken in their order:—

Chapter 2d is printed complete in the Massachusetts Historical Collection, 15 and 16 vols.; the "substance" of it is in Prince's Chronology, xxi.

Chap. 3d is *nearly* all in Felt's Salem, taken *verbatim* from the records, and substantially the whole. Prince, Hubbard, and Hutchinson cite it, yet Mr. Young, in a note, says that in his volume "it is first printed from the original manuscript."

Chap. 4—Complete in Massachusetts Historical Collection, 18 vol. p. 117, abstract in Felt's Salem, 47, 49—Prince 253.

Chap. 5—A complete verbatim copy of the MS. is in Hazard, vol. 1, 256-8; quoted by Prince 258; and there is a full abstract in Felt, 75-78.

Chap. 6—A verbatim copy of the original is in Hazard, 1. 277-285; copious abstract in Felt, 97-107; Prince quotes it.

Chap. 7—Is complete in Hazard, 268-271; abstract in Felt, 88-90; Prince, 258-9.

Chap. 8—Is entire in Hazard, 275; cited by Prince, 260.

Chap. 9—Is complete in Felt, 514-515.

Chap. 10—This is *taken from* Felt's Salem, p. 510-511, who had the originals, except the agreement with Higginson, which is in Hutchinson's Collection at length, 24-25.

Chap. 11—Is complete in Hutchinson's Collection, 32-47; abstract in Felt, 110.

Chap. 12—Is complete in Hutchinson's Collection, 47; and in Massachusetts Historical Collection, 1, 117; and abstract in Felt, 116-118.

Chap. 13—Nearly complete in the Magnalia, 65; complete in Hutchinson's Collection, 27-31; abstract in Felt, 69-74.

Chap. 14—Is entire in Hutchinson's Collection, 25; abstract in Felt, 127.

Chap. 15—Hazard, 287, has it entire; Felt, an abstract, 1346; Magnalia, vol. 2d, p. 69.

Chap. 16—Complete in Hazard, 305; Hubbard, 126; Hutchinson's Hist. Coll. 487; abstract in Felt, 152; Prince, 275.

Chap. 17—Complete in Massachusetts Historical Collection, and New-Hampshire Historical Collection, corrected by Farmer.

Chap. 19—Almost entire in Frothingham's Charles-town; quoted by Prince; *passim*.

Chap. 22—A small part in the Magnalia.

The result of this examination is, that of the volume, seven or eight chapters, comprising little more than one hundred pages, are mere reprints, and of which there are no known manuscripts—and there is only one chapter, of about thirty-three pages, which has not been before printed at length, or substantially, and is new to the public. So much for the correctness of the title page, which says that the volume is “now first collected from original records and contemporaneous manuscripts”! The compilation is an acceptable and useful one, but the title page ought to be corrected in the next edition to accord with the fact.

Mr. Young does not seem to appreciate the difficulty of avoiding errors in works so abounding with names and dates as do most of our early and local histories, and in his haste to detect them in others, occasionally trips himself, and incautiously betrays a captious spirit, not worthy of the subject; and to show the truth of the remark, the following are given from among the errors in the *Chronicles*:

Page 40, for *Serges*, read *Kersies*.

“ 24, for proclamation, read petition.

“ 61, for *Whetcomb*, read *Wright*.

“ 69, for *Whyte*, read *Foxcroft*.

“ 41, for *brims*, read *brows*.

“ 43, for illegible, read *French*.

“ 67, for *aforesaid*, read *aforenamed*.

Mr. Pulseford, who is copying the General Court Records for the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, and to whose aid in deciphering the Records Mr. Young is much indebted, upon the most careful examination of the ancient manuscript, says that *Felt* is correct in stating the supplies at £1000, and that Young errs in making it £2000. [p. 110.]

On page 132, Young alleges that *Felt* “errs” in stating that one of the Company’s ships was of “two hundred tons burthen,” and carried “ten pieces of ordnance,” and cites *Prince* (whom he detects in error *in figures*, in a preceding page,) to prove it. *Felt* relies, for his statement, on the Massachusetts Historical Collection, (vol. 18, p. 117) whose committee (may have examined the manuscript before it was mutilated, and) disagreed with *Prince*. It is a question of authority, *Prince* vs. the Massachusetts Historical Society.

These are two instances of the editor’s readiness to go out of his way to find and declare the errors of others, of little consequence, in one of which the

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error is his own, and in the other, the true way would have been to have stated all the facts, and left the reader to form his own judgement.

The editor [p. 278] says, "Felt, in his *Annals of Salem*, [1, 69] ascribes the authorship of the 'General Considerations for Planting New-England' [chap. 13] to Hutchinson on no other authority than the general title which Hutchinson prefixes to certain papers." Hutchinson's language is this:—"Mr. Higginson's *Journal of his Voyage, his Considerations in favor of the design of Colonizing, and his Answer to the objections made against it,*" and then follow the "General Considerations." Such is Hutchinson's positive assertion, so unfairly stated by our author. The expression used by Winthrop Jr., in his letter to his father—"the Judgments [i. e. "Considerations"] of God's prophets"—would seem to refer the authorship with more propriety to Higginson, the *minister*, than to Winthrop, though Mr. Young would apply it to the latter, to give him the authorship of the "Considerations." Hutchinson is not to be doubted on conjecture, especially where it is from an apparent love of contradiction.

J. W. T.





# BOSTON COURIER.

TUESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 1, 1846.

Joseph T. Buckingham, Editor.

## THE CHRONICLES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER :

The character and spirit of the recent attack in your paper upon the editor of the "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," by John Wingate Thornton, (who, however, evidently acts in the case merely in his capacity of Attorney,) might well absolve the editor of that volume from taking any notice of so rude and coarse a critique. The person who charges another with unfair statements, with "a captious spirit," "a love of contradiction," and "a readiness to go out of his way to find and declare the errors of others," can certainly have no claim to have his allegations examined and answered. The individual assaulted might rightfully decline any controversy with such an assailant. Whatever answer he received would be wholly supplementary and gratuitous.

Yet whilst the character and authorship of this attack might excuse the editor from noticing it at all, there is one charge contained in it which justice to his publishers and to the purchasers of the volume requires him to repel. It is that the declaration on the title-page of the volume, that these Chronicles are "now first collected from original records and contemporary manuscripts," is incorrect, untrue.

It will be observed that the language is, "now first collected," not "now first printed," which is quite a different expression, and if used, might have sustained the charge. The editor, in the words above quoted, professes to have done two things—first, to have brought together these scattered documents into one volume for the first time. If they have ever been collected before, he is not aware of the existence of such a volume, and would like to be informed of the title of it, and the publisher's name. Secondly, he

professes to have collected them, not at second hand, from *copies*, whether written or printed, but from the original records and manuscripts, whenever and wherever they were to be found. He does not pretend to have *printed* all these various documents for the first time, (he would as soon have thought of pretending to have *written* them,) but he does profess to have collected by far the larger part of the volume from ancient manuscripts. These he copied entirely with his own hands—a labor certainly not very inviting, but which he felt bound to perform, and which authorizes him to believe that he has given these documents to the world in a more accurate form than they have before been presented. In one chapter, of only 17 pages, he has thus been enabled to correct 63 errors, and in another chapter 161 errors; and in many instances he has restored words and sentences which before had been omitted, and which were quite important to the sense. At the end of the several chapters he has mentioned the sources whence he derived them—a fact which must be well known to the authors of this attack. For the information and satisfaction of others, he appends a list of the manuscripts which he has used in the compilation of the volume.

Chap. 2. Copied from the MS. in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Chap. 3. From the original MS. Records of the Massachusetts Company, at the State House.

Chap. 4. From the original MS. Letter at the State House.

Chaps. 5 and 6. From the ancient MS. at the end of the first volume of the Registry of Deeds for the County of Suffolk.

Chaps. 7, 8, 9. From the original MS. Records at the State House.

Chap. 10. Two pages out of six from the MS. in the Historical Society's archives.

Chap. 11. Seventeen pages out of twenty-three from the MS. in the Historical Society's archives.

Chaps. 13 and 14. From the same MS.

Chap. 15. From the MS. in the Registry of Deeds.

Chap. 19. From the MS. Records of Charlestown.

Chap. 21. Nine pages out of twenty-three from MSS. belonging to the Historical Society.

Chap. 22. From the original MS. belonging to the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society.

Chap. 24. From the original MS. belonging to the Shepard Congregational Society in Cambridge.

In regard to two only of these manuscripts, it is said that they are "now *printed* for the first time;" these are Mather's Journal and the Records of the Massachusetts Company. Of the latter, Prince, Felt, and others have given large and copious extracts; but a complete copy of the original manuscript, continuously and as a whole, has never before been published.

Intimately connected with the above charge, is the alleged "omission, if not unwillingness to notice, with few and slight exceptions, the labors of Hubbard, Hutchinson, Prince, Hazard, Farmer, Felt, and the Fathers of the Massachusetts Historical Society." The charge is refuted by every page of the volume, which is crowded with references to the labors of my predecessors in the same field; so much so that it has given occasion to another critic to complain that the volume is encumbered by them. The references to Prince, Hubbard, Hutchinson, Hazard, and *Savage*, are too numerous to be counted. Farmer is constantly cited, and is spoken of on page 340 as "that indefatigable antiquary," and on the next page it is stated that in printing Dudley's Letter, "Farmer's copy has been followed." Mr. Felt is referred to twenty-one times, including the seven cases in which his errors are pointed out, the notice of which seems to have furnished the occasion for this unmannerly assault. If he had been mentioned oftener, it could only have been to add to his list of errors, from which the editor willingly abstained. The volumes of the Historical Society are cited times without number, and it was not deemed necessary to repeat what had been said in the "Chronicles of Plymouth," page 120, that "in its twenty-eight volumes that Society had accomplished more than any other literary or scientific association in America."

In regard to the other matters contained in the paper under consideration, they are comparatively of little importance, and can have no interest to the public in general. Whether Winthrop or Endicott was the first Governor of Massachusetts, might be a very suitable topic for an article in the Historical Collections, but would not be very attractive to the readers of a daily journal. The other points are a question of *accuracy* between Rev. J. B. Felt and myself, which I am quite willing to leave to the decision of those, who, by their historical studies, are qualified to pass judgement in the case, and who are acquainted with our respective writings in this department,

and our general habits of investigation and criticism. Four only of the seven errors which I have ventured to point out in his *Annals of Salem*, does he attempt to justify—the others may therefore be considered as admitted. Of these four, two relate to figures in Cradock's letter, which are now obliterated from the original manuscript. Prince, who had the manuscript in 1736, *a hundred and ten years ago*, quotes them as 100 and 20. Felt calls them 120 and 10, on the authority of a copy printed in the *Historical Collections* in 1819, after this loose paper had undergone the wear and tear of *eighty-three years more*. Can there be any doubt in the judgement of any competent critic that Mr. Felt has erred in his figures?

In regard to the supplies, (£2000) I have re-examined the record, and the figure has to my eye the appearance of a 2 rather than a 1. Mr. Pulsifer's familiar experience with the manuscript entitles his opinion, however, to great consideration, and I should be slow to appeal from his decision.

Mr. Felt's last error relates to the authorship of the "General Considerations for Planting New-England," which he ascribes to Higginson, solely on the authority of the general title which Hutchinson prefixes to certain papers which he found in an old manuscript copy of Higginson's Journal. To say nothing of the fact that Higginson had left England four months before this paper appeared, and was not a member of the Company, nor a prominent man among the adventurers, as is evident from the expression on page 65 of the *Chronicles*, "*one Mr. Higgesson*," we have on the other hand the existence of the original paper in Winthrop's hand-writing, and Mr. Savage's opinion that Winthrop was the author of it. The case is, Winthrop and Savage *vs.* Hutchinson and Felt. Can there be any doubt how it will be decided?

As an offset to these *seven* errors of Mr. Felt, *seven* errors in copying the Company's records are alleged against the editor of the *Chronicles*. Now, the editor does not lay claim to be infallible in these matters; he knows that the most careful and accurate of our historians,—Prince, Hutchinson, Holmes, Savage,—sometimes fall into mistakes. Nor is he so sensitive as to shrink from having his errors pointed out; for it is his highest aim to have these *Chronicles* entirely correct, and he feels grateful to the man who will help him to render them so. As was said in the preface to the *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*—"Regarding these documents as the only authentic chronicles



of those times, I have considered all deviations from them in subsequent writers as errors, and when they have fallen under my notice, I have not scrupled to point them out. In this I have no other object in view than historical accuracy; and accordingly, for whatever errors I may have fallen into, I shall hold myself equally obnoxious to criticism."

Of these seven alleged errors, one I readily admit page 41, should be *broves*, not *brims*. One I positively deny, (p. 67) and maintain that the word is *afore-said*, not *aforenamed*. Page 40, *serges* probably should be *kerseys*, although I have the authority of Mr. Felt himself (*Annals of Salem*, I. 49) for reading it *serges*. Page 43, the word in question is, as I say, illegible, and I preferred saying so, to indulging in conjecture. Of the other three words, on pages 42, 61, and 69, only two or three letters of each remain on the tattered margin of the manuscript, and it must remain a matter of uncertainty what the words were. I have given them as they appeared to me; others may decipher them differently.

I have been informed, on the *best* authority, that the portrait of Gov. Winthrop at the State-House has always been considered *by the family* "an original portrait," as is stated on page 105. It was from this that the late Lieut. Gov. Winthrop had the copies taken, which are now in the possession of Harvard College, the Historical Society, and the Hon. R. C. Winthrop.

It is not true, as asserted by my critics, that chapter XII. of the *Chronicles* "is *complete* in Hutchinson's Collection." Only six pages out of twenty-seven are printed there.

I must beg pardon, Mr. Editor, of yourself and your readers, for occupying so much space in your columns, on so dry and barren a subject. It was a matter, not of choice, but necessity. Controversy is altogether distasteful to my feelings and alien from my habits. There can be no satisfaction in carrying on a warfare of this sort with one who writes *by attorney*, and the victory is inglorious that is gained over Swiss or Hessians.

A. Y.





# BOSTON COURIER.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 16, 1846.

Joseph T. Buckingham, Editor.

## THE CHRONICLES OF REV. ALEXANDER YOUNG.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER :

Absence from town has prevented an earlier notice of the communication of Mr. Young in the Courier of the 1st instant, in answer to mine of August 26th.

It would be inconsistent with my ideas of propriety, *even with the authority of Mr. Young*, to deal in the epithets of "coarse," "rude," "unmannerly," &c., and I must leave such weapons for those whose inclinations may prompt to the use of them, and to whose "feelings controversy is distasteful and alien from their habits." *The personalities, in which he so freely indulges, are entitled to no other notice than the absolute denial of his charge of my acting for others. I wrote neither at the request or suggestion of others.*

*Except in his title page, Mr. Young does not, and will not assert that the contents of the "Chronicles" were by him "first collected from the original records and contemporaneous manuscripts." In his communication, he himself deduces, from the undisputed facts in the first article, that they are not by him "first collected from the original records and contemporaneous manuscripts," and then attempts "to repel" the conclusion by the profession "to have brought together these scattered documents into one volume for the first time," which has never been disputed, and would have made a correct title page; whereas on the title page he makes quite another profession, which he endeavors, unsuccessfully, to avoid, and cannot sustain.*

The *purport* of the title page evidently is, that the contents are new to the public,—i. e., “now first collected from the original records and contemporaneous manuscripts.”

Mr. Young conveys the impression that it was stated that he claimed to have “first printed” the Chronicles. A reference to my communication will show that *no such statement was made*, but that merely his title page was repeated.

Mr. Young “professes” to have collected them from the original records and manuscripts, *whenever and wherever they were to be found*; a wise proviso (not in the title page), for he then enumerates *all* the manuscripts he has used, mentions none of chapters 1, 12, 16, 17, 18, 20, and 23, and states that the original MSS. of chapters 10, 11 and 21 are imperfect, (and of the last, the MS. of only 9 of the 23 pages are preserved); and thus Mr. Young himself proves, that his title page cannot be true, for he could not collect from the original manuscripts where none exist.

A curious inquiry here presents itself. Mr. Young distinctly “professes” to have collected “*not at second hand or from copies, whether written or printed,*” and, of course, from original MSS. only. *Quere*—Where did he obtain the text of the above chapters and parts of chapters, of which he allows the originals are lost?

That Mr. Young’s pages are “encumbered with references,” is, as I think, not a fault, but he might have filled half of his volume with them, without proper acknowledgements to the writers who were the pioneers and cleared the field of which *he has taken possession*, and to whom credit is given with very “few and slight exceptions.” Mr. Young quotes his reference to Farmer, but it is about the only instance he could have cited, and here it was an *absolute necessity*. Hazard, who has published in his fine quarto pages chapters 5, 6, 7, 8, 15 and 16, entire, “*from the original manuscripts,*” is cited a few times, in company with many others, to prove some comparatively unimportant or isolated fact, but no one could learn from Mr. Young’s pages that Hazard had accomplished so large a portion of the same labor many years before. Chapters 5 to 16, inclusive, are complete (except a portion of chapter 12) in Hutchinson, Hazard and Felt (three or four volumes, not very much “scattered”); but Mr. Young’s readers are nowhere apprized of his indebtedness to them, and this is *generally* true of his predecessors. A

manly and generous acknowledgement of obligation due to others, is always judicious, if not agreeable.

Mr. Young deliberately repeats the statement (page 123, note) that chapter 3d of the Chronicles, containing about 88 pages, is there "*for the first time printed from the original manuscript.*" The facts are as follows, and the reader may decide for himself as to the correctness of the assertion. About seventy-five pages are printed entire "from the original manuscript" in Felt's Annals of Salem, and the substance, also, of the few remaining pages. Young's "Chronicles" were published in June, 1846, *more than a year subsequent to Felt's Salem*, in March, 1845. "Can there be any doubt how it will be decided?"

He says—"At the end of the several chapters he has mentioned the sources whence he derived them—a fact which must be well known to the authors of the attack"—(there is only one author, Mr. Young.) *It was not asserted otherwise, but if that be true, why does he give no credit for the last portion of chapter 10, taken from Felt's Salem, 511, and none for the first portion of the same chapter, also taken from Felt, 510, except a mere reference at the bottom of the page, thus—"See Felt's Annals of Salem, 1, 510"—the use of which the reader does not know unless he actually turns to Felt. The title page renders an open and distinct acknowledgement necessary, though one or the other would be wrong.*

Mr. Young discovers great industry, and has done good service in the "correction of 63 errors in only 17 pages," and "in another chapter 161 errors," but unfortunately, has added to the list, *in his turn*. He says that "he feels grateful to the man who will help him to render his Chronicles entirely correct;" but the writer regrets that he has so peculiar a manner of expressing his gratitude, yet he is willing to render some further assistance, in this way:—page 43, Kynes may perhaps be read for Vines; p. 56, these for "those"; p. 61, agreed for "aged"; p. 63, Joseph for illegible; p. 67, "aforenamed" for "aforesaid," as Mr. Pulsifer, from whose opinion Mr. Young says he will "be slow to appeal," states that "aforenamed" is "written plain" on the ancient record; and he also says that *ight* and *afte* are the remaining letters on the tattered manuscript, so that Mr. Young must be corrected on pages 61 and 69, for i-g-h-t is the conclusion of *Wright* and not of "Whetcomb," and a-ft-e are the last letters of *Foxcraft* and not

"Whyte."

The writer has pleasure in acknowledging that Mr. Young is correct in stating chapter 12 to be incomplete in Hutchinson's Collection; only about one-fourth part is there.

He "errs" in stating that Cradock's farm was "within the present town of Malden"; it was in Medford. See Frothingham's Charlestown, pp. 90-91.

On page 16 it is stated that John Humfry "did not come over till July, 1634," and on page 106, that he brought his wife and children "to Massachusetts in 1632." The truth is, Mr. Humfrey came over in 1632, and settled in Lynn, 1634. (See Farmer's Gen. Reg.)

It is stated on p. 511 that the Rev. Thomas Weld published his "short story," &c., in 1664. According to Farmer, (Gen. Reg.) Weld was probably dead at that time. The writer has in his possession a copy printed for "Ralph Smith, in London, 1644," so that Mr. Young "errs."

P. 21. Among "the abortive attempts to plant colonies in New-England," is mentioned "David Thomson's, at the mouth of the Piscataqua, in 1623." Farmer, in his edition of Belknap's Hist. of N. H., p. 5, proves, beyond a doubt, Thomson's settlement not to have been broken up.

On page 150 it is stated that "*how or when* David Thompson, at Thompson's Island, near Dorchester," came there, "is not known." Abundant testimony in this matter is contained in the following depositions, printed from a copy in the hand-writing of Mr. William Gibbs of Lexington:—

"I, William Trevour testify that 'Thompson's Island' is the absolute and proper island formerly called the Island of Trevour, which Island, I the said Trevour took possession of in the year 1619, and declared the same (as the effect of my proceedings) unto Mr. David Thompson in London Upon which information the said Mr. D. T. obtained a grant and patten, [patent] for peaceable and quiet possession of the said Island to him and his heirs forever. I being in the company's service at the said time, and to this I testify upon oath, the 27th of the 2d mo., 1650. D——d this day before named, before me, INCREASE NOWELL."

"I William Blaxston, that the island called Tomsons Island is by Dorchester neck and that I heard old Mr. Thompson affirm that he had a patten for it and that there is an harbor in that island for a boat which none of the rest of the islands had, and that those that put hogs there do it by his consent to my knowledge."

Taken upon oath this 5th of the 5th mo., 1650. WM. HIBBINS.

"I, Saggamore of Aggawam [testify] that in the year 1619:

*Thompson's Island  
Dorchester.*

*p. 137*



or thereabouts as I remember I went in my own person with Mr. David Thompson, and that he took possession of the Island before Dorchester he liking no other but that because of the small River and then no Indians upon it, or any wigwam or planting nor hath been by any Endeans inhabited or claimed since, but two years ago by *\*Harmlen* an old Indian of Dorchester witness my hand this 13th of July before Mr. Greenleaf, 1650.

Witness EDMUND GREENLEAF.

E [his]  
SAGGAM {mark} of Aggawam."

"July 15th, 1650. I do testify that in the year 1620, I came into this country and I take it the same year I was in the Massachusetts Bay with Wm. Trevoire and then being upon the island lying near Dorchester and called the said island, Island Trevoire and then no natives there inhabiting neither was there any sign of any that had been there that I could perceive nor of many years after.

¶ MILES STANDISH.

Further I can testify that D. T. shewed me a very Ancient Patent and that Isle Thompson was in it but the terms of it I cannot remember.

¶ MILES STANDISH."

Deposed before the whole Court 25 Oct. 1650."

[From an MS. copy in the hand-writing of Mr. Wm. Gibbs, of Lexington.] *Printed in Higginson's History, vol. 1, p. 2, 1857.*

The writer regrets the accidental coincidence of the numbers of Mr. Felt's and Mr. Young's errors, but the resemblance is now destroyed by adding to Mr. Young's errors, and transferring some of Mr. Felt's supposed errors to his list.

In this part of the article, the coincidence of the "seven errors," confirms Mr. Young's *wholly erroneous* suspicion that there is some "one who writes by attorney,"—and he leaves his own defence to make open war on the Rev. J. B. Felt, which is out of place, not to mention the manner. There is no *merit* in detecting faults. A story of very early New England History, (not reported in the Chronicles,) supplies a moral which may, not inaptly, be quoted here:—

"Then wherfore may not I be skipped,  
And in my room another whipped?  
For all philosophers, but the skeptic,  
Hold whipping may be sympathetic."

Mr. Young, to defend *himself*, does not hesitate to decry Mr. Higginson as "not a prominent man among the adventurers," and quotes the Chronicles (p. 65) thus: "one Mr. Higginson"—why did not Mr. Young add the next words, "an able minister"—was it an *accidental* omission? Is that a "*fair*" quotation? Mr. Savage (Winthrop's History, vol. 1, part 2, note 3) calls him "the venerable Higginson, the father and pattern of New-England clergy;" and p. 416 mentions "Higginson's fleet of three ships;" thus distinguishing him as the most prominent man

\* Its orthography uncertain.

among two hundred adventurers; (p. 377.) Governor Winthrop calls him "good Mr. Higginson." Johnson, his cotemporary, in his *Wonder Working Providence*, p. 21, calls him "mighty in the Scriptures, learned in the tongues, able to convince gainsayers."

In the list of the "contents" of the *Chronicles*, appears "Francis *Higginson's* Journal of his Voyage;" "Francis *Higginson's* New-England Plantation;" "The Company's Letters to *Higginson* and Endicott," (the first Governor.) On page 66, Mr. Young states that he was one of the Council, and he is the *first* named in the list.

In view of this mass of evidence, from Mr. Young's own volume, from Johnson and Savage, all familiar to him, what is the inevitable conclusion respecting Mr. Young, in the deliberate assertion that Higginson was "not a prominent man among the adventurers," and for the sole purpose of defending an attack upon Hutchinson and Felt?

The case is Young *vs.* Johnson, the Massachusetts "Chronicles" and Savage. "Can there be any doubt how it will be decided"? How does Mr. Young know that "Higginson left England four months before the "Considerations," &c. "appeared"? How does he know *when* it appeared, and that it was not written months before Winthrop, Jr. mentions it? Does Mr. Young properly state the case to be *Winthrop v. Hutchinson*, when he *knows* that Savage is not certain that the paper in Winthrop's handwriting was the one in question? "Can there be any doubt how it will be decided"? If Mr. Young's description of Hutchinson's language, "Mr. Higginson's Journal of his voyage," "*his* Considerations" and "*his* answers to the objections," as a "general title," is not *unfair*, then what does he call *particular* and *positive* language? Hutchinson is positive—"Mr. Higginson's Journal," "*his* considerations," "*his* answers to the objection." This case is, Mr. Young's conjecture, founded on conjecture, *v.* Hutchinson's absolute statement.

The editor writes—"Can there be any doubt in the judgement of any competent critic, that Mr. Felt has erred in his figures," given "on the authority of the Collections" of the Massachusetts Historical Society? Does not Mr. Young evidently think himself *a more competent critic* than were the publishing committee of the Historical Society? What else is meant?

Mr. Young does not deign to name "the *best* authority" in reference to Winthrop's portrait. The

following letter from the Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, addressed to the writer, is, perhaps, *the* best authority :—

ANTIQUARIAN-HALL, WORCESTER, August 13, 1846.

Dear Sir,—The portrait of Governor Winthrop, which we have, came from the *Winthrops of Cambridge*, and has always been considered an original. According to the statement of the late Judge Winthrop, it was painted by Van Dyke. It is very large, and bears the evidence of its antiquity on the face of it.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

S. F. HAVEN.†

Mr. Young does not *properly* entitle his volume the “Chronicles.” It may well be questioned whether or not he has not defeated the very object he had in view and so much aimed at, which object is apparent by his putting himself forward in the place of the authors of the documents, *by their arrangement in chapters*, by which their names—which alone make the documents of value as authorities—are lost sight of, and thus made a book which no historian will ever quote, unless he be some isolated individual who cannot have access to the originals. The “allegations” made in the former communication, which remain unanswered by Mr. Young, are, it may be inferred, admitted by him to be facts.

The writer will not suffer himself to use the language respecting the last sentence of Mr. Young’s communication—“The victory is inglorious that is gained over Swiss or Hessians”—which is due to it. The *accusation* contained in it is *utterly false*.

J. W. T.

† The same gentleman, in his communication in Tuesday’s Courier, writes, “It seems to me that the portrait at Worcester should be the most interesting one to the historian. It most accords with the character of Winthrop, as he is best known to us, and corresponds best with the scenes and incidents of his life, as exhibited in the Chronicles of the Colony, with which his name and fame are associated.” It will be noticed that the statement that the original painting is *not* in the Senate Chamber, is given as the writer’s inference from Mr. Haven’s letter, and not as the statement of Mr. Haven.



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## BOSTON COURIER.

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THURSDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 17, 1846.

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Joseph T. Buckingham, Editor.

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### CHRONICLES OF MASSACHUSETTS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER :

The writer is informed that Mr. Savage is *certain* that the paper in Winthrop's hand-writing was a copy of "the Considerations," referred to in yesterday's article, but that he is *not certain* that Winthrop was the author.

J. W. T.

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**BOSTON COURIER.**

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**SATURDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 19, 1846.**

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**Joseph T. Buckingham, Editor.**

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER :

Sir,—It may be proper for the editor of the *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay* to signify, in this way, that he has seen and read the second assault of John Wingate Thornton. The fact that he does not now ask the privilege of your columns for an extended reply, may serve to show that he does not find any thing in it requiring an answer. Resting his defence upon his previous paper, he is willing to leave the decision of the questions in controversy to those who understand what they read, who can discriminate between assertion and proof, and are competent to form an opinion in the case.

The editor may be permitted to add, that, notwithstanding Mr. Thornton's positive disclaimer, he has satisfactory evidence of his having acted in this affair at the suggestion and with the co-operation of another.

A. Y.

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# BOSTON COURIER.

TUESDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 15, 1846.

Joseph T. Buckingham, Editor.

## THE PORTRAIT OF WINTHROP.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER:

Sir: In the controversial articles respecting Mr. Young's "Chronicles of Massachusetts," that have recently appeared in the *Courier*, a question is raised in regard to the "original painting of Winthrop," and I find myself unexpectedly quoted as authority on one side.

J. W. T. says, "The 'original painting' of Winthrop, by Vandyke, is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, as I am informed by the Librarian of that institution; and *not* 'in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts.'"

To which Mr. Young replies, "I have been informed, on the *best* authority, that the portrait of Governor Winthrop at the State House, has always been considered by the family 'an original portrait,' as is stated on page 105. It was from this that the late Lieutenant Governor Winthrop had the copies taken, which are now in the possession of Harvard College, the Historical Society, and the Hon. R. C. Winthrop."

Now the information derived by J. W. T. from the Librarian of the Antiquarian Society, was simply that the portrait of Winthrop in their Library was considered *an* original, and nothing was said by him concerning the portrait in the Senate Chamber.

The fact is, these are entirely different portraits, apparently representing Winthrop at different periods of his life, and both may be *originals*.

The picture in the State House is that of comparatively a young man. The cheeks are fuller, and the brow smoother, than in the one at Worcester. Yet the latter seems to be a much older painting, judging from the appearance of the canvas, the coloring, and the style of the picture. It is a half-length likeness, of full size, showing both hands; the left hand holding a pair of gloves, and displaying a signet ring on the little finger. The beard is shaved from the upper lip, but hangs in a pointed tuft from the chin. The face is long, and the cheeks are hollow; with an anxious and somewhat stern expression to the countenance, such as we might expect to see in the leader of a Puritan Colony, with the weight of important affairs upon his shoulders. This portrait was bequeathed to the Antiquarian Society by the late William Winthrop of Cambridge, and, according to tradition, was painted by Vandyke. The age represented by it corresponds very well with that of Winthrop when he assumed the government of the Colony, viz. forty-three.

Mr. Winthrop also bequeathed to the Antiquarian Society the "Stone pott tipped and covered with a Silver Lydd," which had been transmitted in the family through six generations. This heirloom contains within it the following attestation:

"At ye feaste of St. Michael Ano 1667, my sister ye Lady Mildmay did give me a stone pott tipped and covered wth a Silver Lydd."

The above memorandum was taken out of my Great Great Grandfather Mr Adam Winthrop his notes, and given me Oct. 13th 1767 by my cousin John Winthrop, relating to the stone pott given him by his sister one hundred years ago, which now is in my possession

ADAM WINTHROP

the son of Adam, the son of Adam, the son of John Governour of Massachusetts, the son of the above sd Adam to whom the pot was at first given.

Be it remembred that the stone pot "tipped and covered with a Silver Lid" descended to me on the death of my father in 1779; and that it has on this 29th day of Sept 1807, being the Feast of St Michael, been two hundred years in the family, and is now in my possession

WILLIAM WINTHROP

the son of John, the son of Adam, the son of Adam, the son of Adam, the son of John Governour of Massachusetts, the son of Adam, to whom the pot was at first given."

It is a pity the history of the portrait was not given with similar particularity. It is not unreasonable, however, to presume that it was handed down in the same line of descent.

There are three likenesses of Winthrop in the library of the Antiquarian Society, besides the common engravings—1st, the portrait already described; 2d, a miniature, in an antique silver locket, very like the



other, and probably copied from it; 3d, a copy, in red crayons, of the portrait in the Senate Chamber. The latter has no hands, and exhibits a moustache on the upper lip. With these differences, and that of greater roundness and fullness of contour in the last, there is much resemblance in the portraits.

I believe the Boston branch of the Winthrop family have given preference to the portrait in the Senate Chamber—perhaps because it is handsomer. The engraving in Bancroft's History is from that picture, and it is said the late Lieutenant-Governor not only took an interest in the preparation of the plate, but bore a portion of the expense. Still it may be questioned whether, as a likeness of Winthrop, it has not lost in strength and character what it has gained in good looks. Mr. Young's engraving was executed by the same hand, yet it has the fault of being heavier, both in outline and expression, and in that respect is a less perfect representation of the original.

Whatever may be the feeling of descendants and connections on the subject, it seems to me that the portrait at Worcester should be the most interesting one to the historian. It most accords with the character of Winthrop as he is best known to us, and corresponds best with the scenes and incidents of his life, as exhibited in the Chronicles of the Colony, with which his name and fame are associated.

Respectfully yours,

*The Librarian of the Am. Antiquarian Society.*



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## BOSTON COURIER.

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MONDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 31, 1846.

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Joseph T. Buckingham. Editor.

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☞ The controversy between J. W. T. and A. Y., concerning Mr. Young's "Chronicles," has become altogether too personal to be continued in our columns. We are sorry to disoblige any of our friends; but this is a matter in which very few of our readers can feel any interest. The parties have had ample space in our columns to state their views respectively, and it is time to close them against further recrimination.



# BOSTON COURIER.

MONDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 23, 1846.

Joseph T. Buckingham, Editor.

Boston, 25th September, 1846.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COURIER:

Dear Sir,—Mr. Thornton and Mr. Young having made use of my services to relieve them from the attitude of hostility towards each other, in which their controversy in the Courier placed them, and having through my mediation come to an amicable understanding, have requested me to ask of you the favor to insert in your daily paper, at the earliest convenient period, the following brief sentence:

We are requested and authorized to say that J. W. Thornton, Esq., and Rev. Alexander Young, withdraw every charge of a personal nature in their respective communications in the Courier.

Respectfully and truly yours,

CHAND'R ROBBINS.

\* Mr. Thornton had made none—





Monday, September 21<sup>st</sup> 1846.

This morning I had an interview with my friend, the Rev. Chandler Robbins in relation to the last paragraph in Mr. Young's communication where he makes a direct imputation of falsehood - The result, was the following letter to the Rev. Mr. Robbins -

"Dear Sir -

The various personal imputations which the Rev. Alexander Young has cast upon me in his answers to my criticisms of his "Chronicles of Massachusetts", have, as you may suppose, been very offensive to me, and I cannot allow them to remain -

Knowing that these charges cannot be substantiated I wish to give Mr. Young an opportunity of withdrawing them, in an honorable manner, and relieving me from the disagreeable duty of a public collision on an entirely personal matter, and for this I pray,

your kindness as a mutual friend-

Yours, most truly,

Rev. Chandler Robbins. J. Wingate Mornton.

Sept. 21<sup>st</sup> 1846 - "

The letter was sent to Mr. Young who answered Mr. Robbins, as follows -

"Dear Sir - I have received and read" [Mr. Mornton's letter to you] "the letter which Mr. Mornton has sent you -

From the personal imputations and offensive charges made against me in Mr. Mornton's first paper, I have felt that I was the aggrieved party, and that he was the aggressor - Still I am so much a lover of peace and concord and am so free from all disposition to do him injustice, that although I believed every word I wrote to be true, I hold myself ready to do anything in relation to the differences between us that may be deemed just and honorable to both parties.

Truly Yours

[Signed] Alexander Young  
Rev. Chandler Robbins - "

I answered to Mr. Robbins, as follows,

"Boston - Sept. 21<sup>st</sup> 1846.

Dear Sir - I am much [surprised] "gratified" by the perusal of Rev. Mr. Young's [note] letter and take pleasure in stating that I had no personal feeling toward him and regret that any expressions in my article should have borne an offensive sense -

As the matter now stands on record I am virtually charged [with falsehood] "before the public, as guilty of falsehood. This charge is wholly unfounded, as I can easily prove, and I am sure (after the pacific and honorable language that Mr. Young has used in his note to you) that on being convinced of my innocence, he will not hesitate to do me the justice of believing me from an accusation so severe, and offensive by rectifying in the Courier the statement that I acted fraudulently.

Very faithfully yours,

Rev. Charles Robbins, of Winghamtown "

From conversation with Mr. Robbins I learned that the Rev. Joseph B. Felt, was the person whom Mr. Young thinks to be my

client - so that I have obtained the following  
note from Rev. S. B. Felt to me -

"Boston. Sept. 1846

Dear Sir - In answer to your note I state  
distinctly and freely, that your notice of Mr.  
Young's Book was written neither at my  
request, nor even at my suggestion.

Yours truly

S. B. Felt."

Friday, September 25<sup>th</sup> 1846 -

Rev. Chandler Robbins called and shewed  
me a note (see the concluding sentence on page  
33) dictated by Mr. Young, and I forgetting my-  
self, to allow Mr. Young an easy escape from  
his awkward position, consented to it, leaving  
the whole matter in Mr. Robbins' hands -

I have made no imputations on Mr.  
Young - have no personal feelings to gratify,  
and pursued this course, (unjust to myself)  
for the sake of a generous course toward my  
opponent from whom I have received un-  
fair and ungentlemanly treatment - If  
I had vindicated myself publicly, the  
result would have been unfavorable to  
him, and done me no positive good - a mere  
disproof of an unfounded charge -



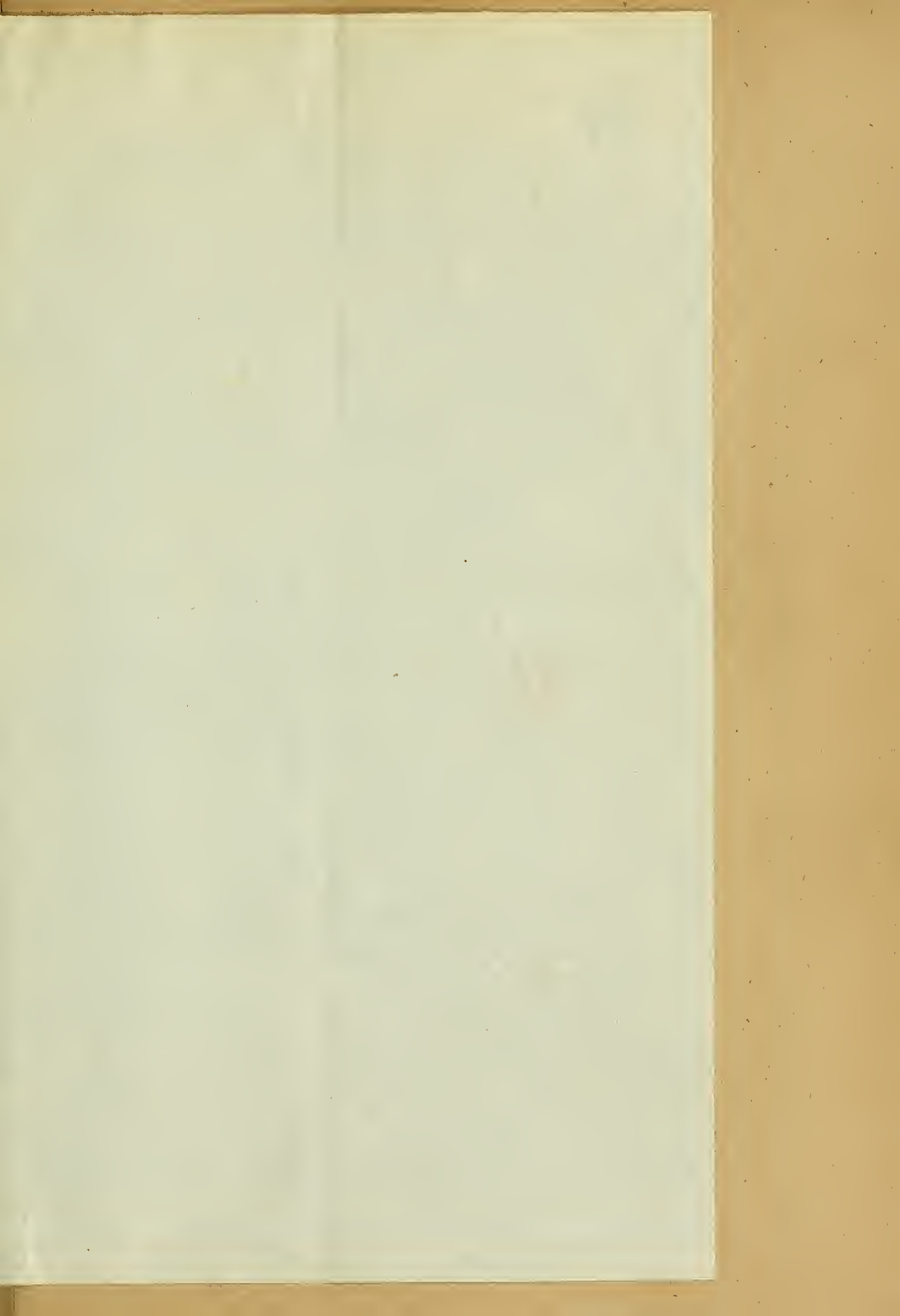
Boston, Sept 1846

J. Wingate Thornton Esq:-

Dear Sir. - Your  
note is rec. In answer to your  
note, I state distinctly  
& fully, that your notice  
of Mr Young's book  
was, <sup>written</sup> neither at my request  
nor even at my sugges-  
tion.

Yours truly  
J. B. Felt.















































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